DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 421 785 EA 029 197

AUTHOR	Rugg, Carol D.
TITLE	Joining Forces: Communities and Schools Working Together for a Change. A Special Report.
INSTITUTION	Mott (C.S.) Foundation, Flint, MI.
PUB DATE	1994-00-00
NOTE	40p.; Reprinted from the 1993 Annual Report of the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation.
AVAILABLE FROM	Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 1200 Mott Foundation Building, Flint, MI 48502-1851.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Evaluative (142)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	*Community Education; *Cooperative Programs; Educational Improvement; Elementary Secondary Education; Parent Participation; *Partnerships in Education; *Philanthropic Foundations; Poverty Areas; Preschool Education; *School Community Programs; School Readiness
IDENTIFIERS	Flint Public Schools MI; Jefferson County Public Schools KY; Kentucky (Louisville); Michigan (Flint); New York City Board of Education; New York (New York)

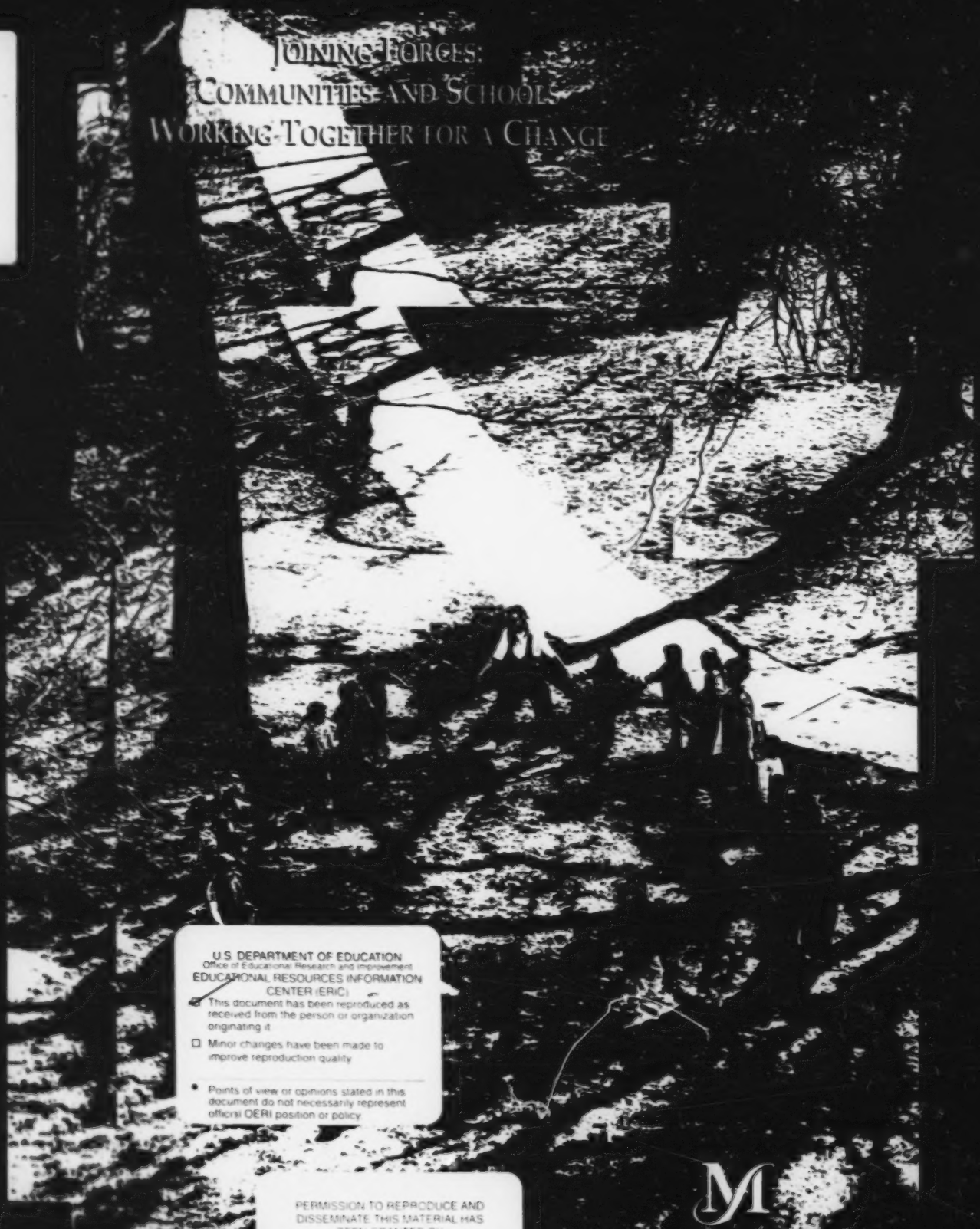
ABSTRACT

School and community partnerships form the very core of the Mott Foundation, as seen in its founding principles and its varied Civil Society, Flint, and Poverty programs. Although community education has evolved over the years to address increasingly serious problems, the work of today's community organizers is deeply rooted in past theories: school buildings belong to the people, can be utilized 7 days a week to serve community needs, and can be at the forefront of partnership development; local leaders are responsible for developing an agenda to meet all citizens' needs; the entire community must be held accountable for this agenda; and people must be part of an educative society to become self-reliant. The new emphasis is on equal community/school involvement. Schools and communities are working together to solve tough problems, as demonstrated by Louisville, Kentucky's Cradle School program addressing parenting skills, child development, and school readiness. Experiences of the Rheedlen Centers for Children and Families and the Children's Aid Society in New York City schools illustrate inherent difficulties in initiating community-school partnerships. The two agencies have arrayed a host of activities and services in neighborhood schools to meet the needs of nearby residents. (MLH)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 421 785

Joining Forces: Communities and Schools Working Together for a Change



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

- ☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
- ☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
- • Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

J. Samelson

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

1

EA029 197

Communities and Schools Come Around to the Lessons of the Past

ANNUAL MESSAGE

How busy the world is reinventing itself these days.

Nations are shedding decades of philosophy for a new order. Borders are shifting and taking on new economic, religious and social significance. A new global economic order is reshaping business and industry everywhere. Religion is struggling with the yawing of worldwide social change. Science hints at medical advances and bioethical dilemmas that will reshape the future. Environmentalists are becoming more urgent about the future of the planet. It goes on and on.

Here at home, we're hanging on the precipice of a new information superhighway or information infrastructure at the same time that we're trying to overhaul health care, welfare, families, values and our schools — among other things.

In many ways, this unsettling sense that change is all around us is as much about societal growing pains as anything else. After all, each generation feels the need to tweak the past and put its own stamp upon the future. On the other hand, it well may be that it is time to reinvent a few things that were created when the world was a different place. Whatever the reason, I don't think anyone could argue that it is quite important to take stock of the present, learn from the past and press on to a better future.

So it is with particular interest that we see the growing movement to use schools as community resources. While some see it as new, we see it as part of the historical development of education in the United States.

Having been at the forefront of a different iteration of that same effort at a less complex time in our society, we salute the efforts of energetic and committed community activists and educators who are taking another look at solving community problems through collaboration.

Quite frankly, we believed then and we believe now that the future of our children is riding on how successful we are at making this concept not just broadly based, but broadly embraced. As we have learned, schools are a distinct reflection of their communities and all the social and economic baggage contained in them. From our experience, there is no substitution for sitting down and jointly deciding how to make both better.

Indeed, for the Mott Foundation, school and community partnerships are at our very core. Our founding principles speak to the importance of people living in partnership with their communities and of building strong, self-reliant people at the local level so they, in turn, can build strong communities.

But also, enabling school and community partnerships was our first focused program of grantmaking as a foundation. Today, such projects can be found throughout our Civil Society, Flint and Poverty programs, bearing witness to the fact that while both our grantmaking and the field have evolved over the years, certain fundamental principles have lasting value.

It was almost 60 years ago that Frank J. Manley, a physical education director for the Flint Public Schools (and later executive director of the Mott Foundation), convinced Charles Stewart

An innovative community-school collaboration in New York City emphasizes after-hours education and enrichment programs.

Mott of the wisdom of opening schools for young people's recreation programs after school, on weekends and during the summer to help reduce juvenile delinquency and improve safety.

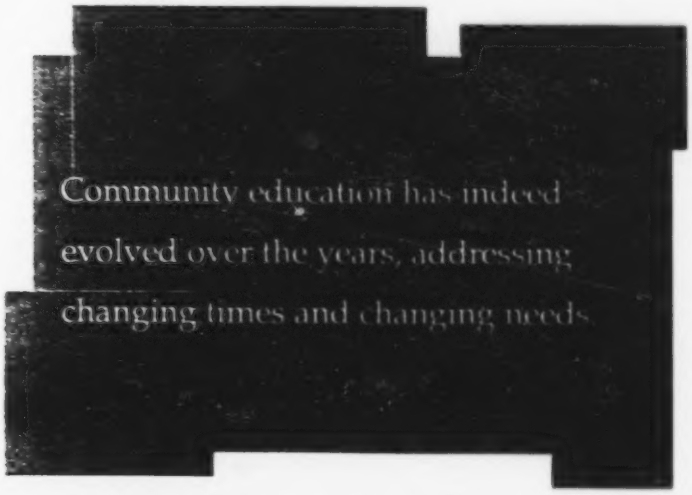
Together, Messrs. Manley and Mott proposed to the Flint Board of Education a pilot program that, in time, would result in every school in Flint opening for recreational programming, with community involvement in planning the course offerings and a community school director in each school. By the late 1930s, similar programs were in place from New York to California and in between. And over the years, the federal and state governments played an important role in spreading "community education."

Out of an initial grant in the 1930s grew one of the most comprehensive and durable programs of community/school relations ever seen in this country. It ranged from a comprehensive health program devised to serve the needs of children, which has evolved into a separate, unique nonprofit called the Mott Children's Health Center in Flint; to a national professional association, today serving 1,200 members and 37 state community education associations and their constituencies as the National Community Education Association; to a major training program, the National Center for Community Education, which annually trains approximately 500 national and international educators; to a community development organization still serving the people of Flint. In addition, it spawned the traditional enrichment and recreation programs that can be found today in schools in every state in the nation.

For many years, the primary focus of community education was on providing

access to the schools and basic education programs for community residents. As it matured, it found itself becoming a process by which residents could mobilize to meet a community need, a process similar to community organizing, and one that can be adapted for almost any use.

As the years passed and resources began to shrink, communities began using that process to find ways to solve critical community problems such as deteriorating neighborhoods, surplus school space, crime, unemployment, even the K-12 system itself.



Like many American cities, Flint underwent dramatic changes during the '70s and '80s. The oil embargo of the 1970s that precipitated the downsizing of the American automobile industry hit Flint hard. General Motors began reducing its local work force from a high of 75,000 in the 1970s to 45,000 today. White flight compounded the changing demographics, causing the city's population to plunge from 190,000 to 140,000, the county's from 480,000 to 430,000, and Flint's public school enrollment to drop from 46,000 to 26,000 during the same period.

Increasing drug use and crime took their own disastrous tolls on the community and schools. Faced with increasing expenses and declining revenues, the Flint school board closed schools and cut programs. Flint's community education program made changes, too. While it retains remnants of the original model, today's program uses a community quadrant approach to providing critically needed services, thus streamlining the system and avoiding duplication.

Flint's story is not unique in the mosaic of a changing urban America. Because the principles established by Manley and Mott have endured, many community/school efforts have evolved over time. But this brief history reminds us how very important adaptation is in the process of change. It reminds us that a true community/school program must change to reflect the changing needs of the community.

I'm reminded of a visit I made to the Fienberg-Fisher complex in Miami in the late 1960s. A still thriving community school first developed in 1962, it serves as a model of how a community/school initiative has adapted to meet changing community needs.

In its first two decades, the Fienberg-Fisher Adult and Community Education Center concentrated on providing retired seniors with services such as trips, bridge clubs, etc., at the school and in area high-rise complexes.

By the 1980s, the landscape was much changed. An influx of non-English-speaking immigrants hit the area. That, along with increasing crime, forced out many long-time residents, and the center found itself dealing primarily with immigrant families and children. A consortium of local social service organizations joined the schools to attack problems ranging from feeding the poor to illiteracy to unemployment.

Today the community is more diverse than ever with 41 nationalities represented among the elementary student population. The center finds itself stretching to prepare young children for school even while serving dropouts and seniors and facilitating community development efforts. What was once primarily a school effort to provide activities and funding for a stable, even wealthy population is today an effort in community collaboration and holistic service for one of the nation's most diverse and socially and economically challenged communities.

Community education has indeed evolved over the years, addressing changing times and changing needs. To us, much of what is happening today between schools and communities bears striking resemblance to those earlier efforts and, in some cases, is a direct byproduct. Indeed, I have little doubt that issues of sustainability, replication and cost are of equal concern to organizers today as they were in the past.

Although many of the organizers of today's efforts perceive their work as something new and different, their work is just as surely rooted in the theory that:

- school buildings, often the finest facilities in a neighborhood, belong to the people;
- school buildings can be utilized seven days a week to serve the needs of the community;
- schools should be at the forefront in stimulating partnerships of concerned citizens to address community needs;
- it remains a local responsibility to set an educational agenda that will meet the needs of all citizens;
- if the agenda for excellence is going to be achieved, the entire community must be held accountable for its attainment; and, finally,
- people must be part of a learning, educative society if they are going to become self-reliant, to care for themselves.

And that is what community education was founded upon. If the principles have changed at all, it may be in the notion that the school should be at the forefront of the effort. Today's organizers would argue that the community should be right up there, too. And so it should be.

As the special section of this report suggests, community involvement in schools today is varied across the country. In some cases, schools are remaking themselves from the inside out; in other cases, from the outside in. Some efforts are simple, single programs. Others fall into the integrated or comprehensive services realm.

Regardless of the type of effort, schools and communities appear to be working together more now than ever before. And while there are many parallels between today and yesterday, there are new challenges that reflect the sea of change occurring in our society as well as our expectations of our schools.

In a recent Trustee and staff briefing in Washington, D.C., national poverty experts reminded us that it's a different world out there today. Their stories emphasized what violence has done to communities and how isolation has trapped families. They also stressed how communities have changed from being fairly homogeneous and cohesive to being disjointed, ethnically and culturally diverse, and incredibly varied.

These issues, along with vast changes in family structures and the intractability of poverty, have changed the very nature of schools, forcing them to rethink how even the most basic education will be delivered.

This was further underscored for our board and staff when we followed our D.C. meeting with a session with community residents living in a struggling neighborhood in our home community

of Flint. Joined by a group of community resource people, ranging from the superintendent of schools to local ministers, we heard young people paint their lives and futures as bleak, powerless and tenuous at best.

They spoke of the disintegration of the family and the lack of caring adults in their lives. They also spoke of the disinvestment in their communities; the fact that drugs, violence and racism are the norm. As one said:

"Society expects us to fail. A lot of our generation is either locked up or dead."

Again and again we heard about the importance of providing young people with a place to spend their leisure time in their communities. Flint school Superintendent Nathel Burtley reminded us that, "Only nine percent of kids' time is spent in school; 90 percent is spent in the community."

It was a sobering reminder of the job that lies ahead. But it was also, in many ways, a reaffirmation of the past. The landscape has indeed changed, and yet people seem to be calling for many of the same things that catalyzed Manley and Mott back in the 1930s.

In those poverty briefings, we heard over and over of the critical need to provide a place for our young people. In

the 1930s, the concern was about juvenile delinquency; today, it is about kids killing kids. It's becoming a familiar refrain. Fortunately, some of our policymakers are hearing it, too. We are particularly encouraged by the efforts of the current administration and Congress to pass the Community Schools Program, a plan to make public school buildings available for a wide range of after-school activities for youngsters in impoverished big-city neighborhoods. Now, as then, providing opportunity for our youth to find constructive activity is a high priority.

But as we discovered with community education, there is much more that comes out of providing schools as the place for schools and communities to come together. Through collaboration, all manner of community problems can be addressed, whether it is school reform, teenage pregnancy, literacy, unemployment, safety or trash collection.

So regardless of whether you call it community education, community schools, community collaboration or something else again, or whether today's efforts are simply a new generation's tweaking, what matters is that we nurture any opportunity to bring people into partnership with their community.

Several years ago I spoke before the annual meeting of the National Community Education Association about education as a critical key to reweaving the fabric of our society. At that time, I laid out a vision of education using five words: Place, Program, Process, People and Passion. To briefly summarize:

- It is important to remember that education takes place throughout the entire community. We must recognize that education should be delivered where it makes the most sense to the people, where the people are most comfortable. We must not confuse education with where it takes place. A **place**, after all, is nothing more than a facility. Think, if you will, of the difference between a house and a home. A house is a physical structure. A home is not defined by bricks and mortar. It is defined by its relationship to family. It is vital in the current community/school debate that we not confuse education with the school building. That building, after all, is owned by the community.
- **Programs** should be designed with the user in mind. People today rarely need one thing; rather, they have many interrelated needs. It is essential to combine programs in a holistic, comprehensive approach. Further, it is imperative

that these programs not be viewed as add-ons that can be easily cut when funding grows tight. As we well know, as a society we somehow always find the money for incarceration but we don't as readily see the value of prevention.

• Success is dependent upon inclusion. In order to meet the needs of the people, the people must be meaningfully involved in the decisionmaking **process**.

• General Motors used to say, "We sweat the details." In education, we need to "sweat the individuals." That means addressing the specific needs of **people**.

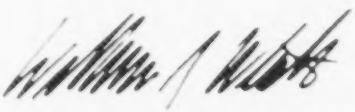
• Finally, as a society, as a community, as an individual, we need to want to do this. We need to be committed with a **passion** and demand that we do this. We will not rid ourselves of poverty overnight. But we will be further ahead by realizing that school and community issues are intertwined and require holistic solutions. Therefore, bringing people together is key to promoting those values and actions that empower people and ultimately lead to counteracting hopelessness, fantasy, fear and racism. Only then can we begin to create a just society.

As fifth-grade New York teacher Hermoine Dorsey is quoted in the special section of this report:

"I believe you have to start by building on the biggest strengths in the community. And I think the biggest strength is the family, with maybe the schools and churches next. If the family is part of the school, you've got it made."

The concept of schools and communities working together has been on record since the early 1800s. It very likely has been around as long as there have been schools for the children of a community.

Perhaps then, what all this shows is that a strong relationship between a school and its community is the most logical and natural thing in the world — especially when of paramount concern is how we improve the future for our children.



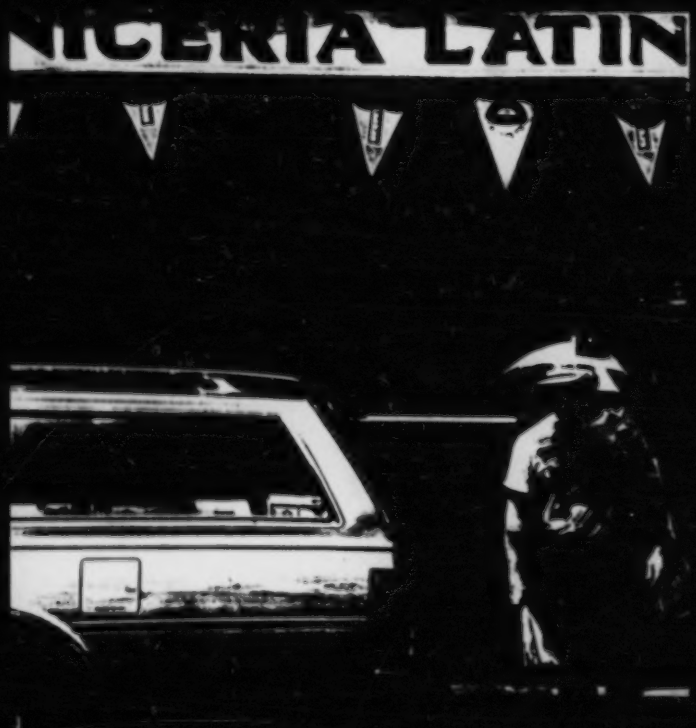
William S. White, Chairman

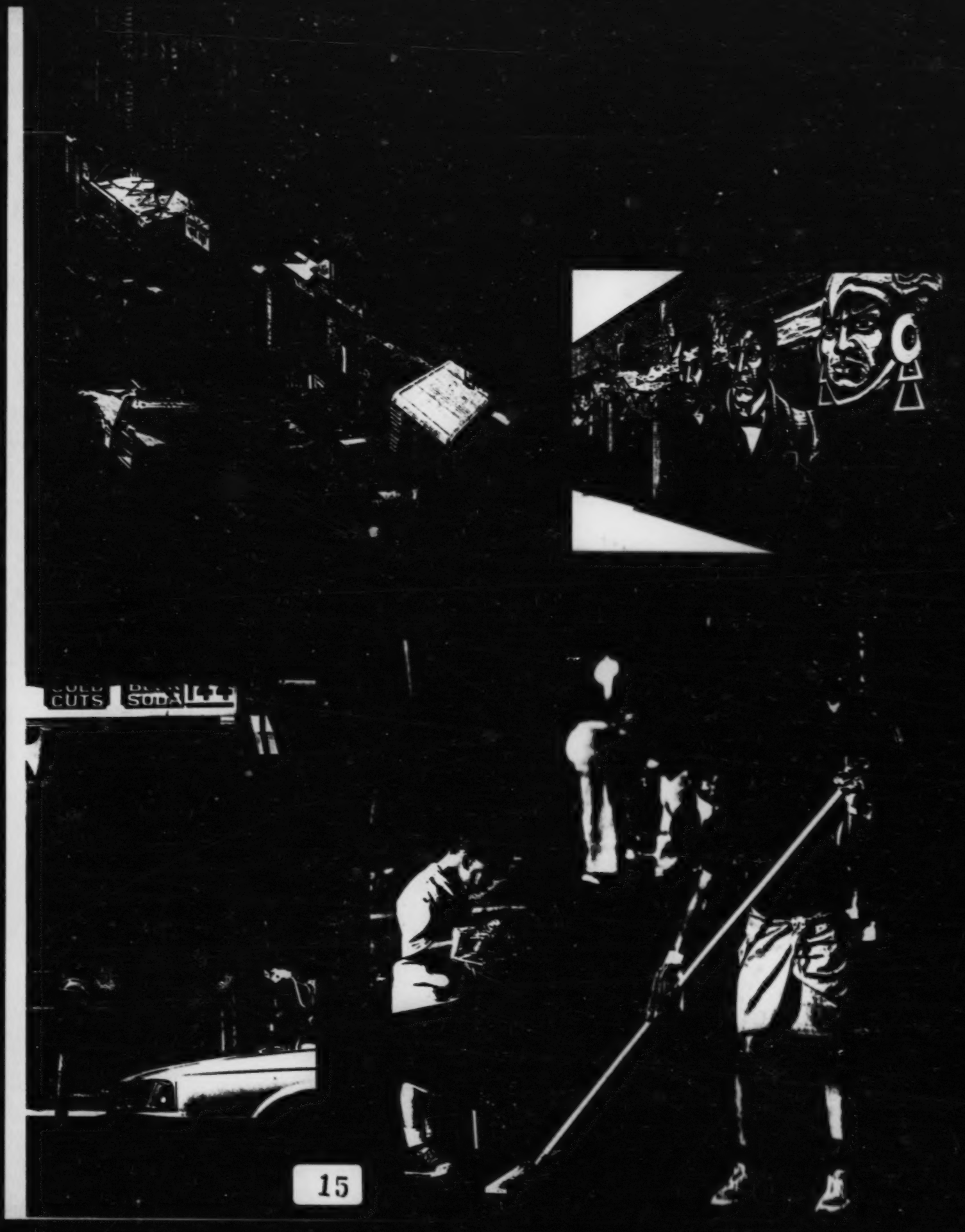
Changing Families

W

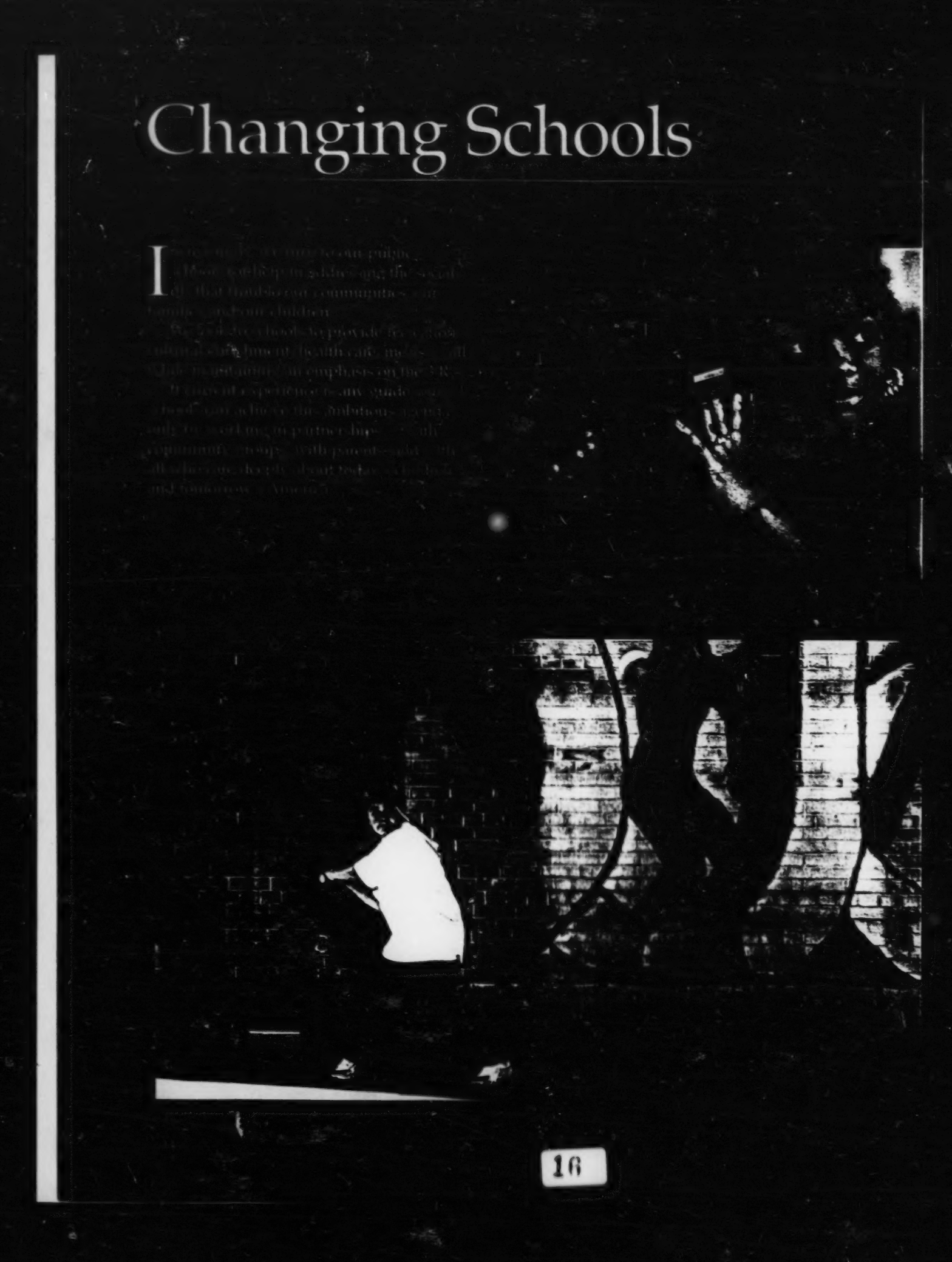
Changing Communities

J




COLD CUTS
SODA

Changing Schools



At Byck Elementary School in a tough section of Louisville characterized by bleak streets, idle adults and rundown housing, the students and staff are well rehearsed in the steps to take when gunfire erupts in the neighborhood or a suspicious stranger appears on school grounds.

At the first indication of trouble, a "Code Blue" is issued. Children are ushered off the playground and into classrooms. Hallways are cleared and all entries are slammed shut and locked.

To anyone who grew up in the years following World War II, the scene might seem vaguely familiar. It was a time when the Cold War threatened peace of mind, when children were routinely herded from their classrooms into school basements to practice air-raid drills.

Then, the enemy was outside and far away.

But in the 1990s — a time when the median age of first-gun ownership in the United States reportedly is 12½ years — inner city schools have well-practiced procedures for protecting youngsters from menacing adults, vicious gangs and stray bullets.

Now, the enemy surrounds us.

That shift deeply disturbs Matt Benningfield, who became the principal at Byck some 28 years ago. Back then, there was no such thing as a "Code Blue." But back then, he recalls, children didn't come to school armed with lethal weapons. Few children were fatherless — fewer still, homeless. And they didn't tell stories about shootings in their neighborhood or relatives who had been killed — sometimes before their eyes.

Back then, schools could concentrate on the 3 R's and give nary a thought to whether their students had eaten a hot breakfast, enjoyed a good night's sleep or felt safe walking to school.

But times have changed. So have neighborhoods. So have families. So have kids.

And as a result, so have schools.

Changing Times; Changing Lifestyles

One needs only to pick up a daily newspaper or tune into a news broadcast to get a startling sense of how fundamentally America has changed during the past several decades.

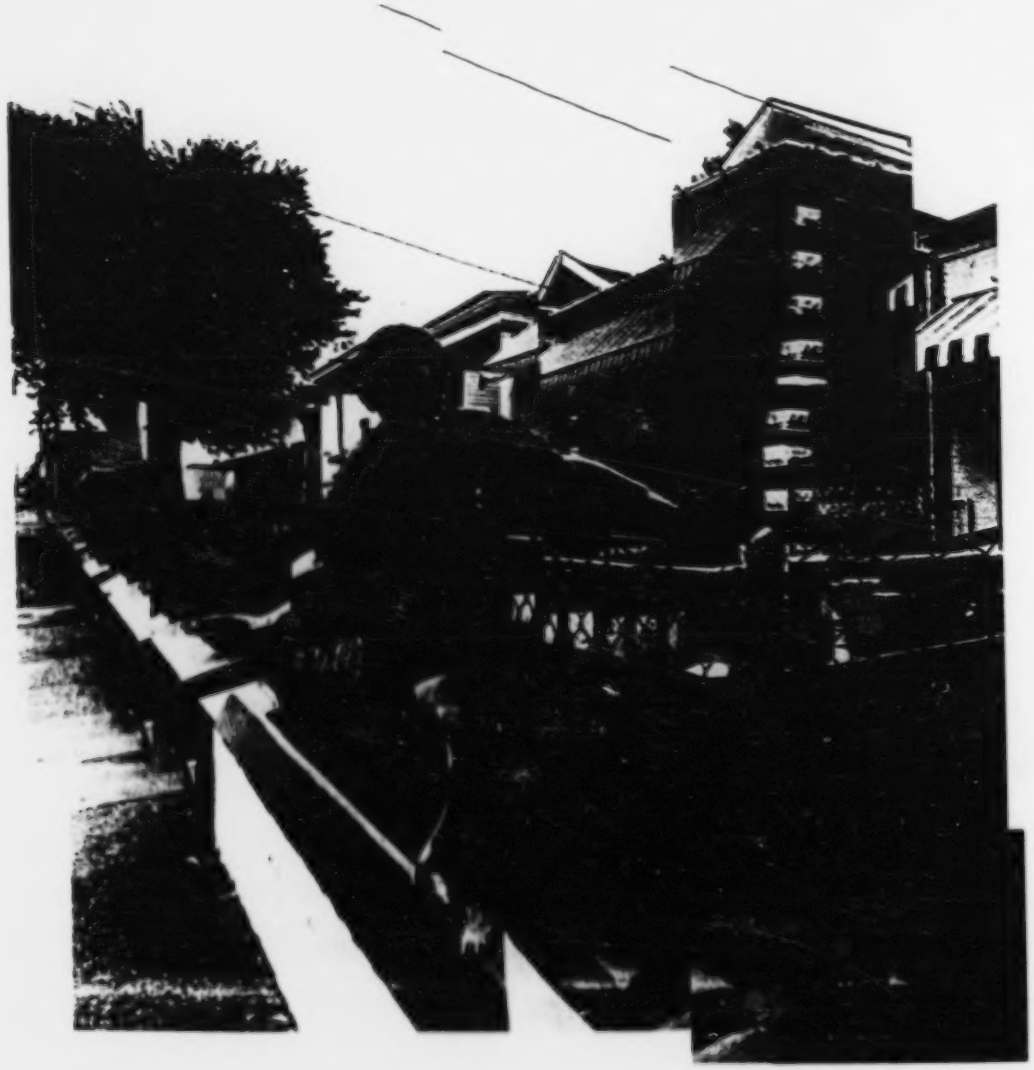
Headlines tell us of increasing rates of childhood poverty, out-of-wedlock births, dysfunctional families, violent behavior, urban decay.

Even the saccharine family television programs from the 1960s, featuring loving couples and bright-faced kids, have been replaced with story lines focused on single moms, dads raising children alone or unmarrieds sharing homes.

Indeed, it isn't just the syrupy network programming that is long gone. Even the classic "Ozzie and Harriet" family type — working husband, stay-at-home mom and two children — has nearly vanished from our collective memory and our landscape.

The proof of that lies in some statistics compiled by researchers at the Institute for Educational Leadership, Inc. They found that in 1955, the traditional family structure could be found in 60 percent of U.S. households. But by 1980, that family unit existed in only 11 percent of American homes and, by 1985, a mere 7 percent of households fit that pattern.

To some degree, the catalyst for the changing character of the American family has been the tremendous influx of women into the workplace. Today, nearly three-quarters of married women with



Many neighborhoods are no longer the fun, safe, beehives of activity they once were for children.

children between the ages of 6 and 17 are in the work force — almost double the rate since 1960. Even among married women with preschoolers, 60 percent were in the labor force in 1990, compared with only 12 percent in 1950.

Given such statistics, it is hardly surprising that there are at least four million school-age, latch-key kids in the United States.

Now add to the mix the fact that:

• 24 percent of kids today live in a single-parent family — headed by the mother 90 percent of the time; only 7.1 percent did so in 1950, according to the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES).

• Child poverty is concentrated in female-headed households. "In 1991, 46 percent of children under 18 in female-headed households were supported with an income under $10,000," states a recent NCES report. "In contrast, only 5 percent of children under 18 in married-couple families lived with these economic constraints."

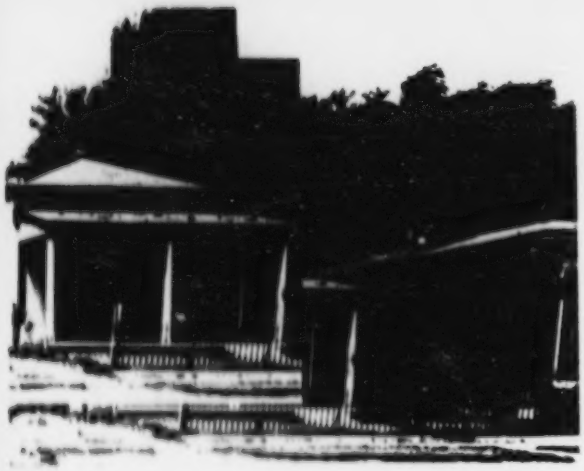
The NCES report also points out: "The proportion of poor children coming from female-headed households has risen dramatically, from 24 percent in 1960 to 59 percent in 1991 for all children and from 29 percent to 83 percent for black children."

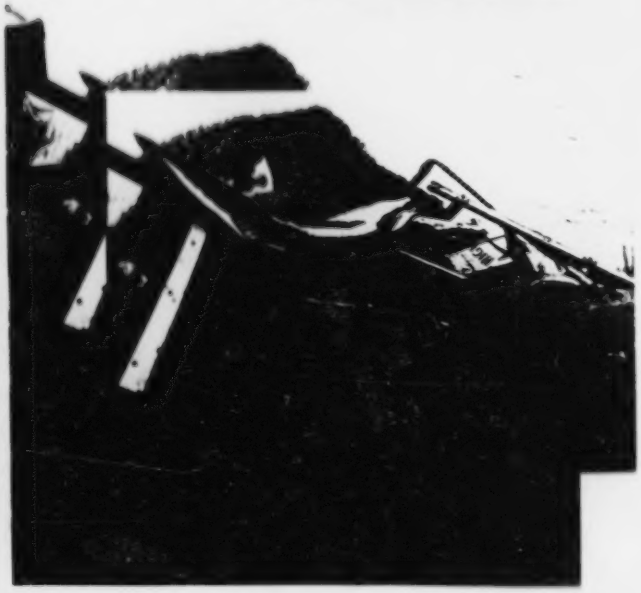
CHANGING FAMILIES, CHANGING COMMUNITIES

Clearly such factors as the labor force participation of women, weakened family structures and growing childhood poverty rates have had a dramatic impact on the face and shape of the American family. And that, in turn, has impacted communities.

But as one examines how communities have changed in just the past decade, one cannot ignore the powerful impact violence has had. Indeed, it could be argued that few societal changes have more fundamentally altered the way we live — even the way we view each other — than violence.

It is the threat of violence that makes older people afraid to walk in neighborhoods they have called home for years or to intervene when children have a street corner dispute. It is the threat of violence that makes parents afraid to let their children play outside after dusk or insist that their children sleep in rooms without windows. It is the threat of violence





that has forced the closing of recreational outlets that once sustained kids after school — municipal skating rinks, swimming pools, dances and the like.

And that's not all. Apart from the distrust and fear that violence has wrought in general on communities, it has created some special problems for schools, which increasingly find themselves having to deal with weapons on school grounds, violent conflicts and the psychological stress that overburdens children who feel they are living in a war zone.

Indeed, a 1993 study by the National School Boards Association found that 82 percent of 720 school districts indicated that violence had increased in their schools in the past five years. And what exactly are schools up against? Some additional statistics help flesh out the picture:

- 17 percent of urban high school students say they have carried a gun;
- 60 percent of students in elementary, middle and senior high schools say they could get a handgun;
- "At least 3.3 million children each year witness parental abuse, ranging from hitting to fatal assaults with knives or guns," according to a recent article in *Carnegie Quarterly;*
- Two out of five children between 10 and 19 years of age say they know someone who was killed or wounded by gunfire;
- From 1986 to 1991, the violent crime rate for young people between the ages of 10 and 17 increased 48 percent. Dig further and one finds that "black youth are five times more likely than white youth to be arrested for a violent crime. However, the white juvenile violent crime rate increased by 58 percent between 1986 and 1991, while the rate for black youth increased by 28 percent," according to the *Kids Count Data Book*, published by the Center for the Study of Social Policy.

Changing Children; Changing Schools

So how do all these grim statistics play out in the education arena today? What do educators see when they travel to and from their assigned school or look out at a sea of faces as they stand in front of the classroom?

Many see the futility of trying to teach children basic subjects using standard teaching methods. Many see themselves on the cusp of major educational reform that not only utilizes different teaching styles but also fully engages the local citizenry in a strong

school-community partnership.

To some educators today, the dawning of a new age is inevitable. Yet often they find themselves first having to squelch outmoded, "Ozzie & Harriet" views of children and families.

Just ask Harriet Fortson, who has spent much of her long career as an assistant principal at an elementary school in central Harlem. She has seen the neighborhood change, the families in it change and the children attending her school change. Much slower to change, however, has been the public's attitude.

"People in the older generation say, 'We couldn't come into the school and bring all our problems with us. That wouldn't have been allowed.' But 20 or 30 years ago, people were poor, but they weren't disenfranchised. There's a big difference. I think people today are disenfranchised," she says.

"... I come from a large family with 10 children. We were poor, but we were never deprived.

"Most people, who don't live in these communities, can't even imagine what alcohol, drugs and inequality between the races have done to the lives of people here."

Mark Kavarsky, principal the past three years at an innovative intermediate school in a disadvantaged neighborhood in Manhattan, shares Fortson's sensitivity.

Moreover, he is candid about the imperative educators face today: "It would be all well and fine for us to say we're only going to deal with the 3 R's, but the fact is, I can't deal with the 3 R's if kids are not fed when they come into school, they're not clothed well, if they don't have high self-esteem, they don't have a sense they can succeed ... or haven't slept well because there have been problems at home or out on the street."

Given Kavarsky's perspective, it is hardly surprising that the school he heads is attempting to deal head-on with the multitude of problems and needs facing students, parents and neighborhood residents by providing social services on site and by offering a wide range of social and educational activities at the school.

And Kavarsky isn't alone. An increasing number of educators are coming to realize that schools really don't have much choice in the matter. A web of complex social problems must be untangled before true learning can take place.

One School's Approach

That's exactly the conclusion Byck Principal Benningfield came to in the early 1980s after witnessing a steady stream of completely unprepared youngsters enter kindergarten. That lack of academic readiness often triggered years of remedial education.

Stephany Hoover, a first-grade teacher at Byck in 1983, remembers feeling that same sense of concern.

"I was seeing students who couldn't speak in complete sentences, who couldn't write on a line or stay in their seats. They couldn't interact with each other, or share, or take turns. They didn't know how to hold a pencil or use scissors.

"You constantly felt like you were running a race, but you'd started two miles behind everyone else. And you knew that the kids weren't ever going to leave school with the skills they should have."

Hoover threw her support behind Benningfield as he began grappling with the problem.

A forward-thinking educator who eagerly embraces new ideas, Benningfield decided to create an on-site, school-readiness program — a "Cradle School" as it has become known — that would emphasize early childhood development, hinge on strong parental involvement,

and serve parents and their children from 0 to 4 years old.

Starting with the premise that parents are a child's first and best teacher, he designed a preschool program that would address parenting skills, child development and school readiness. Specifically, he wanted to ensure that parents learned how to reinforce and expand the social and academic skills being imparted to their children, how to relate to the school system, and how to become partners in their child's education.

"I looked at the `medical model' and saw what we did with polio in this country," Benningfield says. If the nation had relied solely on remediation, he points out, the health-care community would have "built hospitals and bought iron lungs." But instead the emphasis was on prevention.

"The Cradle School was built to show it could be done — that we could shut (educational) remediation down."

Matt Benningfield, Louisville principal

"The Cradle School was built to show it could be done — that we could shut (educational) remediation down."

Indeed, today there is evidence that the approach works. Benningfield says that "not one child who stayed in the Cradle School (the full four years) has needed remediation in the nine years the school has operated."

Though no one could have predicted it, Benningfield's notion of helping families to help children received an unexpected boost recently from the massive educational reforms under way in Kentucky. That reform movement, ordered by the courts and mandated by the state legislature, has affected everything from school management and financing to student achievement and teacher accountability.

Of special interest to Benningfield is a provision calling for the creation of a Family Resource Center, funded by the state, in schools with a sizable number of disadvantaged students. Such centers provide and broker an array of social services for students and their families. (Today there are about 400 Family Resource Centers in the state.)

Again, Benningfield and his staff embraced the idea and set about creating a center that would serve as an important and natural adjunct to the Cradle School and the K-3 education provided at Byck.

Funding and staffing for the center and the Cradle School, both of which are directed by Hoover, always have been limited. Byck receives $90,000 in state funding (calculated on a per pupil basis) to operate the center. The Cradle School, funded by the local school district, received $21,000 for operations in 1993-94. Although the same level of support for the Cradle School was anticipated for 1994-95, future funding is uncertain.

But a lack of generous financial support hasn't been the only obstacle for Benningfield. He also has had to confront a lack of emotional and political support as well. Still, he has remained a tireless advocate for viewing children holistically and has no qualms about schools filling the social services void for children and families.

some schools have made a concerted effort to expand recreational options
for neighborhood youngsters

Whose Job Is It, Anyway?

Nevertheless, there are those who wonder whether schools are the appropriate place to tackle social services problems and house community services.

To them, Henry M. Levin, Stanford University professor of higher education and economics, asks: "If not there, where?"

Typically, he says, every neighborhood has a school, and perhaps several churches. The problem with the latter, he says, is that people who aren't churchgoers, or of the same faith, sometimes feel excluded.

"If you don't use the school, I'm not sure there's a good alternative," Levin said.

Agreeing is Geoffrey Canada, president and chief executive officer of the Rheedlen Centers for Children and Families, which has been providing social, educational and recreational services for three years at Fortson's school in Harlem.

"Schools have the physical infrastructure necessary to provide young people with what they need. They're designed for large groups of people to use. Things don't get easily damaged or broken by a lot of use."

Philip Coltoff, executive director of the Children's Aid Society in New York City, which is partnering with two (soon to be three) schools to expand the services available to children and families, has another practical reason for wanting to see school buildings used more fully.

"Ninety cents of every dollar is used for services when the school pays the overhead. That drops to 65 cents when you have your own facility."

Financial considerations aside, Joe Stewart, who co-directs Rheedlen's school-based program in Central Harlem, offers a more philosophical reason why schools need not only to expand their mission beyond meeting educational needs, but also to extend their reach far into the community, particularly in impoverished neighborhoods.

"Schools and education are the only real vehicle in these neighborhoods to help young people succeed. They aren't going to inherit money. They aren't going to be endowed. They are going to do better by going to school. Education is the mechanism for them to attain whatever they want to attain."

Yet, Stewart acknowledges that schools often are intimidating, frightening, negative places for people in poor communities.

"A lot of community people and parents believe that traditionally schools worked against you."

And that perception must change, he says.

A step in that direction would be to get more parents involved in and comfortable with the school, says Hermoine Dorsey, a fifth-grade teacher at the school where Stewart works.

"Education is not going to happen if parents aren't involved," she said bluntly.

"I believe you have to start by building on the biggest strengths in the community. And I think the biggest strength is the family, with maybe the schools and churches next. If the family is part of the school, you've got it made."

After all, she says, if parents are willing and able to reinforce at home the lessons learned in school, children have a much greater chance for success.

Levin agrees: "Schools can operate in a vacuum, but with predictable results — sad results. Schools will be less successful, even on their own terms, without community connections and support."

Paul Heckman, an education innovator who has spent the past several years developing and monitoring a major educational reform initiative in Tucson, Ariz., takes that a step further. He believes that the partnership between

schools and communities should work both ways and not be bound by the traditional classroom setting, standard teaching methods or basic curriculum. The community should be invited in — to share what it knows — and the school must reach out — to help community residents develop the skills and tools they need to live in a complex world.

"A lot of people are still thinking of school change as one issue and community change as another," Heckman said. "We believe they are tightly interrelated. Our purpose is not to solve the health care problem or the human services problem. It's to promote educational development — the acquisition of knowledge and skills people need to solve the health care problem."

To Heckman, schools and the communities surrounding them are inextricably linked. After all, he says, children learn not only in schools but also in their neighborhoods and communities. Kids spend the first four years of life outside of school, he points out. And even when they begin school full-time, they spend more hours outside the classroom than in it.

"Schools are very, very critical," he said. "The public puts a lot of money into them. But the school doesn't constitute nearly the entire spectrum of places kids develop knowledge and skills."

Thus, Heckman believes educators should be striving to create "educational ecologies" — made up of schools, churches, families, agencies and other places where children and adults acquire knowledge and skills.

By participating in activities in those settings, he says, people can gain the confidence that leads to empowerment. Thus, it is important for both children and adults to have those opportunities, because "if parents view themselves as not making a difference in their own lives, how can children grow up believing they can make a difference?"

Building School-Community Partnerships

Like Heckman, John I. Goodlad, a noted researcher and author in the field of education, maintains that "the task of educating young people is too great for the schools alone to deal with." That's why collaborations involving schools, human services agencies and individuals are so important today, he says.

Goodlad isn't absolutely convinced that human services need to be located in the schools, and he flatly opposes the idea of "running a community needs program on school rules" — that is, operating from 8 a.m. to 3 p.m., closing for the summer, sharing budgets and using teachers as staff. After all, he says, community needs don't quit at 3 or evaporate during the summer.

Instead, he argues for services that are carefully coordinated by the various providers, available whenever they are needed and located conveniently within easy reach of clients.

The late Ed Meade, a long-time education expert, expressed a similar view in a May 1994 interview.

"In some places, the worst thing you could do would be to put community agencies in the schoolhouse," he said. "In other places, it would be the wisest thing to do. It's very contextual. Whatever works, works."

Indeed, Meade and Goodlad share a simple bottom line: Ensuring that the total needs of the child are met. And the best way to do that in today's environment, they said, is through partnerships.

Yet according to Meade, collaborations can be fraught with problems.

"We tell people that they have to work together, and then we give them no incentives, no training and no rewards.

"It's not that we want teachers to be social workers. We want teachers to work with social workers. But the fact is, we don't prepare people to collaborate, and

Considerable learning today takes place outside the school building, stressing contact with caring adults and

we don't give them a tangible reason to do it. That, to me, is the biggest impediment to what we want — good collaborations that benefit children."

So what are the ingredients of an effective collaboration?

While pointing out that partnerships conceived and executed by one party are doomed to fail, Levin recommends careful planning by all of the entities involved, developing a common purpose, creating a "team approach," and ensuring adequate time for mutual trust and respect to develop.

"It's not a profound idea, but it's ignored so often," he said. "That doesn't mean everyone has to love everyone. But if you start with that premise, you have a much better chance of success in the long term."

Even the most carefully constructed collaboration is bound to fail, however, unless there is "top-level endorsement," says Goodlad. Regardless of how enthusiastic others may be, top leadership must buy in for the effort to pay off.

(See related article, page 30)

Clearly, developing effective collaborations is tricky business. Yet all of the educators interviewed were easily able to cite specific examples. And while there does not seem to be one model more worthy than the others, what is striking is that new and different types of partnerships are surfacing fairly readily in today's environment.

The idea of citizens, neighborhoods and schools partnering is hardly new. In fact, the concept of using the schools as a community resource — to foster neighborhood cohesiveness, nurture local leadership, provide enrichment opportunities and so forth — has been around for decades.

The current movement is of particular interest to the Mott Foundation given our early work in community education — a process of training schools and communities to work together. And what we see in practice today could easily be described as a variation on that theme.

What seems most to differentiate the partnerships of today from those of the past is the dramatically different nature and character of communities, say several community education observers. And that, they say, has altered fundamentally the kinds of services required and the way those services should be delivered.

In the past, when neighborhood residents were bound closely by ethnic, religious or economic ties, schools were asked to educate children by day and serve as a community center by night, offering recreation and enrichment opportunities, citizenship classes, vocational training, and such.

"But," said Levin, "suddenly we've gone to a situation where schools and community service providers are responding not to a neighborhood that's cohesive — that simply lacks a community center — but to a neighborhood where there are serious problems with health, safety, family supports, social supports and education. Now there are serious deficiencies in neighborhoods — serious things that need to be provided.

"Now, we think of neighborhoods in terms of pathologies; in the old days, we thought of neighborhoods as having strengths to build on."

Goodlad views the situation similarly.

"Today the collaboration is much more a shoring up of the malaise we find in the community," he said, explaining that in the past the community education concept could be viewed as "total family education."

Chicago Principal Carlos Azcoitia believes educational reform and neighborhood improvement go hand-in-hand.

"The assumption (before) was that people would be 'wanters' of education and the community school would be the place to get it. It was more middle class. ... Enrichment is a lot of what community education was.

"The angle we're now hearing is 'If we don't get parents involved, they'll undo what we're trying to do.' The assumption is not that parents will be eager 'wanters' of this."

Reflecting on the early days of community education, Ed Meade said there were at least some communities where schools went beyond offering enrichment classes and provided social services. But he recalled that over time, "those programs went by the boards," and turned "largely to academics, offering enrichment classes and the like."

"Today there are, at least from a conceptual view, real attempts (by collaborating schools and community agencies) to address the holistic needs of children. Whether they're really doing that or not, I don't know. But they've been conceived that way."

Partnerships for Tomorrow

From the Mott Foundation's perspective, if we are to have any hope of creating more livable communities for our children — and their children — it

will require partnerships between schools and communities.

The concept of collaborating — of bringing community interests together to leverage and maximize their strengths and impact — is ingrained in Mott's grantmaking work. It can be seen in our attempts to build economic opportunity, organize low-income communities, strengthen the philanthropic and nonprofit sectors, slow environmental degradation, and a whole host of other grantmaking areas.

Over time, we have come to understand that the formation of a solid, effective partnership can, in fact, rest with a single individual who has foresight and vision, energy and determination, and the ability to imbue others with the same sense of mission and purpose.

It is for that reason that we were particularly taken with a principal we encountered in Chicago and his notion that the fate of his school, John Spry Elementary, is tied directly to the fate of the neighborhood it serves.

At his suggestion, we sat in on a meeting of a small, citizen committee and a community police officer, who discussed gangs, criminal activities and trouble spots in the area around the school. Such meetings, instituted at the urging of Principal Carlos Azcoitia, take place once a month in space provided at Spry, a nearly 100-year-old institution in what today is a predominantly Mexican-American, severely disadvantaged section of Chicago.

To Azcoitia, bringing neighborhood residents and police officers together to discuss common concerns fits neatly into his we're-all-in-this-together philosophy. After all, he says, a school can organize first-rate after-hours programs, but if there are gangs hanging around the school and the streets are unsafe, parents will be too fearful to allow their children to stay late and participate.

Azcoitia, who was selected by the Local School Council to run Spry in 1990, succeeded a principal who detractors say was insulated from both parents and the community — in part because he did not speak Spanish in a school where roughly 95 percent of the student body is Hispanic.

Azcoitia, a Cuban native, had both classroom teaching and administrative experience when the position at Spry opened up. What appealed to him most, he says, was that the opportunity arose at a time when the Chicago Public Schools were undergoing massive reform and restructuring — with special emphasis on shared decisionmaking and on community organizations playing bigger and more important roles in education.

By reorganizing time and priorities — not by securing major grant support or spending bundles of money — Azcoitia has established an open-door policy within the school and has kept an open mind about what can be achieved in the neighborhood beyond the school.

And although he readily admits he has much work to do to develop a solid partnership with community-service providers, it is a goal that guides his thinking and his actions.

Shortly after arriving at Spry, Azcoitia made a number of changes, some large and some small, but all signifying new energy and leadership. To address severe overcrowding, he arranged for fourth-graders to move to a separate building a block away, where a large Head Start program operates. Although the arrangement has drawbacks, it freed up space at Spry to create a teacher resource center, a mini computer lab, a parent resource center, and a science lab for sixth-, seventh- and eighth-graders.

Working in partnership with the Boys and Girls Club, which operates a building that sits practically on Spry's playground, Azcoitia helped establish a

full-day kindergarten in classrooms that had been underutilized.

The club also teamed up with a delegation from Spry to create a small, nicely equipped play area adjacent to school grounds.

Indeed, improving the school grounds — especially keeping them graffiti-free — has been one of Azcoitia's top priorities. Appearances, he says, do matter and they can help drive home to students and their parents the importance of personal responsibility and community pride.

When an abandoned lot near the school became a haven for late-night revelers who left behind empty beer bottles, Azcoitia helped organize a cleanup crew and took steps to ensure that access was restricted. "I believe the school can play a leadership role on issues like that," he said, revealing once again his willingness to work in the community.

And there is more. Hoping to link parents to the school in creative ways, he supported the formation of a committee to identify parents willing to invite a few neighbors into their homes to discuss school matters informally. The meetings would include a Spry teacher or staff member and ultimately could lead to the creation of block clubs that would be well-positioned to tackle school or neighborhood issues.

Still, some of Azcoitia's energies have focused on education — changing teaching methods and improving curriculum.

"He pushes for a lot of hands-on, active learning, rather than a lot of lecturing," said one faculty member, adding that Azcoitia is a frequent, unannounced classroom visitor.

In addition, she remembers him telling the staff at a meeting: "I'm not going to be impressed if I go into a classroom and it's silent. I understand that education is noisy."

Teacher Tamara Witzl, who spent several years working under Spry's old administration, says Azcoitia has brought a new energy and new sense of optimism to the school.

"He's very community-oriented and sensitive to the parents."

Witzl, who lived a few blocks from Spry for 13 years and was active in her neighborhood-based organization, said she knows well the problems confronting area residents. What's more, she believes they are eager for change and would welcome projects and proposals initiated by the school.

"People are struggling on all levels here," she said. "If the school can bring some sense to their lives, they're open to that. I think they're more than willing to have the schools do that."

And Azcoitia certainly seems willing to try.

Clear and plain-spoken on the subject of schools and communities teaming up to promote mutual improvement, he wrote last fall in a Chicago publication chronicling reform efforts: "The school cannot succeed unless it is attached to a community network that provides safety, good health and nutrition, recreational activities, social services, and jobs.

"... We have used our energies to improve not only our school, but also the quality of life in our community, because the success of one is tied to the success of the other."

Perhaps in the not-too-distant future, others will recognize the simple truth in that.

Two Partnerships for Success

Creating effective, enduring partnerships certainly seems a worthy goal in today's education environment. But as anyone involved in such an undertaking can attest, partnerships do not happen easily or quickly. What's required is a whole-hearted commitment to common goals by all parties involved, creation of a team approach, and time for mutual trust and respect to develop. As education expert Henry M. Levin stated in the previous article, although there's nothing profound in those requirements, all too often they are ignored. To gain some insight into the intricacies of forming strong school partnerships, we turn here to an in-depth look at how two community-based organizations approached the task in New York City schools.

The arguments for using schools to provide an array of social and recreational services to children and families have been well articulated in recent years:

- Sometimes the school is literally the only public facility in the neighborhood — or the only safe, well-equipped building available for multi-purposes and heavy traffic;
- With an infrastructure already in place in the school, the cost of expanding its scope to include additional purposes often is quite reasonable; and
- Typically there is a ready audience of young people and adults who are coming and going from the building on a regular basis.

However, it is faulty to assume that all schools automatically will rush to embrace new, additional services, regardless of how willing and capable the provider may be. In fact, two such providers in New York City — the Rheedlen Centers for Children and Families, and the Children's Aid Society (CAS) — have had quite different experiences forming partnerships with public schools. Moreover, their experiences help illustrate how carefully these relationships must be constructed to maximize success.

Both Rheedlen and CAS are large, well-regarded social welfare agencies with long histories of working in impoverished neighborhoods throughout the city. And both approach community development by recognizing the importance of strengthening children and families; thus, intervention strategies are designed to be holistic.

As a result, the two agencies have arrayed a host of activities and services in neighborhood schools to meet the social, physical, emotional, educational and recreational needs of those living nearby. And while the projects appear to offer similar services — with seemingly positive results for the participating children and adults — there are some clear differences.

The Rheedlen Experience

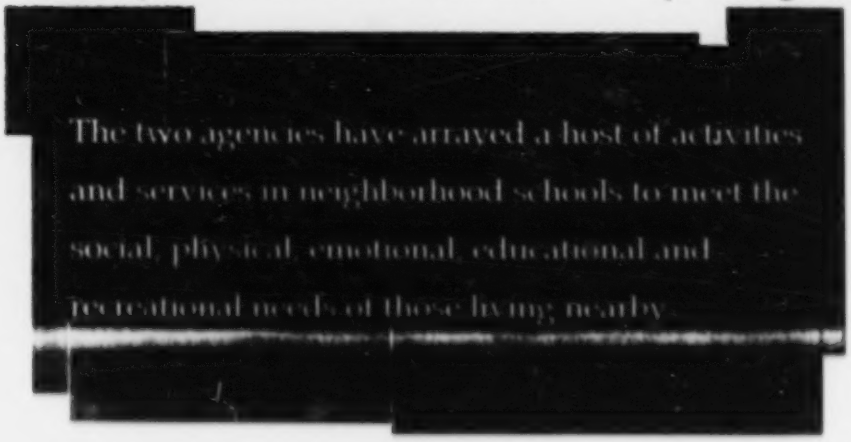
Established in 1970 as a preventive social services organization, Rheedlen was operating programs in 10 sites when New York City announced several years ago that it was seeking community-based organizations interested in managing comprehensive, school-based child and family development projects. Called Beacons, the project would be funded with a combination of city, state and private monies.

The concept had immediate appeal, recalls Geoffrey Canada, president and chief executive officer of Rheedlen. At the time, Rheedlen operated community centers out of several schools and saw them as an important, yet often underutilized, neighborhood resource.

Although Rheedlen did not have an established presence in Central Harlem, the need for comprehensive services was apparent even before Rheedlen staff began surveying residents to determine what was available.

After exploring the potential of three school sites, Rheedlen decided to approach P.S. 194, also known as Countee Cullen, an elementary school named after an African-American poet.

Shawn Dove and Joe Stewart, who share responsibility for directing the Countee Cullen Beacon, explain that Rheedlen was drawn to the school largely because it posed certain challenges — in terms of both the limited enrichment opportunities offered and the poor educational attainment of students. They point out, for example, that the school sits in a district that produces some of the lowest math and reading scores in the state.


The two agencies have arrayed a host of activities and services in neighborhood schools to meet the social, physical, emotional, educational and recreational needs of those living nearby.

In the three years since Rheedlen created the Countee Cullen Beacon, a richly diverse series of classes, workshops, meetings and services has been designed to attract and engage children and adults.

Staffing at the school is composed of 14 full-time and 47 part-time employees, who fill positions as child-care workers, teachers, counselors, social workers, activities specialists, parent-outreach workers, community organizers, etc. During the regular school day, Rheedlen's presence is felt through a host of on-site social services, including attendance improvement, child welfare and dropout prevention interventions.

But it is after classes officially end at 3 p.m. that the school turns into a veritable beehive of activity. From then until nearly 11 p.m., the building becomes as crowded and as noisy as a shopping mall on a rainy weekend. And, indeed, people can "shop" for activities in numerous classrooms on several floors of the old school. For children the offerings include: homework help, a reading lab, scouting, supervised games, sports, teen movies, drama classes and martial arts. Adults can choose from among such activities as: African dance, aerobics, organized sports, parent support groups, block club meetings and Narcotics Anonymous meetings.

The level of activity hardly slackens on weekends and during the summer. In fact, Countee Cullen Beacon has organized a number of special summer events and programs, including a daily supervised "play street" created by restricting traffic and parking on the street next to the school.

In addition, staff has organized both a Youth Council, which among other things gives teenagers community service opportunities, and a small but growing parents group that participates in special workshops and social activities and could develop with time into a grassroots activist organization.

Despite the obvious popularity of the programming created by Rheedlen, Dove, Stewart and Canada are candid

about how difficult it has been to gain enthusiastic and widespread support from the school's staff and teachers, few of whom teach after-school or evening classes or fraternize with Rheedlen staff.

The explanation may lie, in part, with the fact that the Beacons concept originated outside the school system. Thus there was little intrinsic support. Moreover, Beacons give considerable control — over programming, finances, even which schools will be asked to become involved — to community-based organizations, which may have created some resentment among educators. (Each of the 37 Beacons in place today operates with about $500,000 annually; $450,000 designated for the community-based organization and $50,000 for the schools to cover such costs as keeping the building open after hours, on weekends and during summers.)

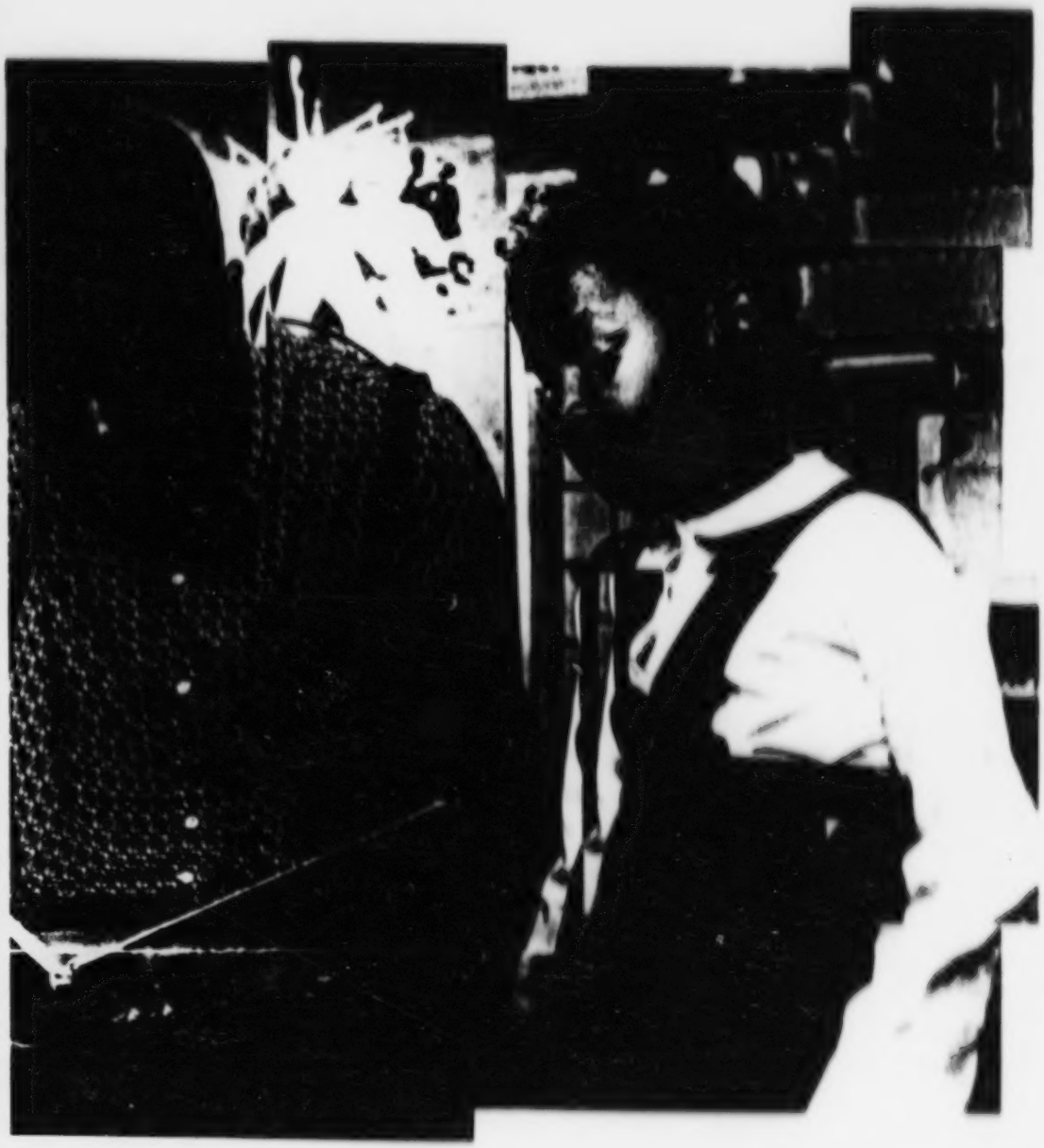
But some of the coolness directed at Rheedlen staff members may be the result of the different approach and attitude they say they take toward children and parents.

As one small example, Stewart points out that children are allowed to call Rheedlen staffers by their first names — something not allowed in the school overall. Furthermore, he says, "We're trying to develop a real relationship with young people. We do a lot of hugging," something else he says isn't common practice at the school.

Educators, he and Dove say, often adopt a "top down" approach that can appear overly formal or downright intimidating to parents and children. But Beacon staff members work hard to be inviting and attentive, and they consider themselves and participants to be in lateral positions. And while the school may not always welcome parental input and participation, the Beacon staff considers that a fundamental part of the mission.

Further, suggestions from Rheedlen staff (particularly on such topics as discipline and personal interactions with students) have not always been welcome and, in fact, have sometimes been interpreted as criticisms or intrusions into territory beyond the agency's purview.

Aside from those philosophical differences, Rheedlen staff members say that on a practical level, concern about damage and breakage have made some teachers less than enthusiastic about



At the Countee Cullen Beacon, teens enrich the lives of youngsters in after-hours programming.

sharing their classrooms and supplies with the after-hours program.

Assistant Principal Harriet Fortson acknowledges that reaction at the school has been mixed to the Beacon program, but she said, "I would say I would rather we be a Beacon school than not one — even with the complications that exist."

Fortson says the program has been able to intercede with families and provide opportunities that the school couldn't "because there aren't enough hours in the day, personnel or finances."

"We could never put the kind of energy they put into things and run the school, too. We've done a lot ourselves to organize programs, yet we still can't match Rheedlen nose-to-nose."

Though the school sits in a tough neighborhood with mean streets and plenty of roadblocks to success, Fortson, who has spent 15 of her 30 years in education at Countee Cullen, says she is proud of the youngsters who steer clear

of trouble and lead productive lives.

"We do have some success stories. And with Rheedlen here, that number is going to increase. The atmosphere in the school was always good, but now it's even better. They are helping us instill hope in young people."

And that hasn't gone completely unnoticed by staff, she says.

"They're gradually winning people over. People do see the improvement in the school."

Rheedlen staff members acknowledge that the process has been slow, but they are far from discouraged. In fact, Co-Director Dove likens the situation to an arranged marriage, where the two parties come together without any affection or affinity but develop it with time.

Playing on his marriage analogy, Dove points out that when Rheedlen selected P.S. 194 and presented its ideas and plans for a Beacon to school staff, it was, in essence "courting" and eventually "proposing."

And while Dove says it would be nice if both parties were always in love, they have stayed together and worked out problems.

"We've been getting to know each other over the past two years. We've had two years to develop mutual trust. I think there are some seeds of real collaboration now."

The Children's Aid Society Experience

Although Rheedlen may see itself as part of an arranged marriage — with an intermediary actually instigating the union and Rheedlen working extra hard to avoid lovers' quarrels — those involved in the CAS-school project say they came together on their own accord and have been on equal footing from the beginning.

While CAS Executive Director Philip Coltoff speaks highly of Rheedlen and its collaborative, he says that one of the big differences between the two projects is that "we're not guests in someone else's house. We chose each other. They wanted us as partners."

One might argue that yet another significant difference is that CAS did not decide to partner with an existing school; rather it worked with the school board and school district to design and develop a brand new building. As a result, CAS did not have to find common ground on someone else's turf. And that, in and of itself, might explain the considerably friendlier reception CAS staff has received at Salome Urena Middle Academies, or I.S. 218, a middle school in the Washington Heights-Inwood section of Manhattan.

The genesis for that partnership dates back to the late 1980s when CAS began examining neighborhoods for possible expansion. Staff discovered that, in less than 10 years, the makeup of the Washington Heights-Inwood neighborhood had changed from predominantly German, Irish and Jewish to largely immigrants who are newly arrived from the Dominican Republic.

Moreover, that changing population was experiencing a host of social problems, from high poverty rates (the community had the highest poverty rate in the city with 40 percent of families living on incomes below $10,000) to high crime rates (the neighborhood is located in the police precinct with the highest levels of drug addiction and crime, including murder, in the city).

Given those conditions — and a dearth of social services — CAS began making plans to establish a site there. When it was discovered that the school board was planning to build several new schools in the area, CAS proposed teaming up — an idea that proved mutually agreeable.

Students at I.S. 218 in New York City put their talents to work beautifying their neighborhood with murals.

While the school was under construction, CAS began laying the groundwork for broad community acceptance by working with several well-known grassroots, community-based organizations in Washington Heights. In addition, CAS sent its medical/dental van to Head Start centers and schools as a way of establishing a presence and introducing its services.

By the time the school opened in March 1992, the community already had developed an important familiarity with CAS. Moreover, those hired by the school — from the new principal on down — shared a common vision: to create a welcoming environment and a set of services to address the multiple needs of children and families.

In practice, that has meant the creation of a "seamless," extended day that begins at 7 a.m. and ends late in the evening. In between, one finds:

- An innovative instructional approach that emphasizes team teaching and divides students into five educational "academies": business studies; community service; expressive arts; math, science and technology; and law and ethics. In addition to teaching all students a core curriculum, instructors devise special lessons and activities focused on the theme of their particular academy.
- A number of activities offered after classes end at 3 p.m. that maintain the theme of the academy and/or provide students with opportunities for remediation, recreation, homework help, etc.
- Opportunities for children to visit the on-site medical and dental clinics, where a number of basic services (such as teeth cleanings, checkups, physicals, screenings, immunizations and referrals)

are provided.

• A series of workshops, courses and activities open to students and adults in the community, including classes in fitness, literacy, sewing, baking, computers, GED preparation and English as a Second Language.

• Staff available to provide assistance with immigrants' rights issues, applications for benefits and government assistance, housing and eviction problems, etc.

Like the Beacon program, many of the activities and services at I.S. 218 are provided on weekends and during the summer.

Richard Negron, who serves as CAS' on-site director, says a concerted effort has been made to create a team atmosphere by sharing ownership of ideas and programs, and blurring the distinction between activities created or conducted by CAS and by the school.

Principal Mark Kavarsky agrees.

"Our program after normal school hours is not isolated. It's not an 'after-school program.' It's not a recreation program. It's not someone coming in who's leasing space from us. What it is is an extended day program, where what happens during the day finds applications for enrichment and extended periods of time."

Moreover, he points out that "a majority of the instructors are the same instructors who teach during the day."

At the same time, CAS staff keeps flexible — and long — hours as part of its commitment to making programming operate smoothly. Last summer, for example, Negron spent his Saturdays hosting and supervising weekly community picnics (complete with cookouts and games) on a site near the school. Though the weekly event cut into Negron's personal time, he jokingly recalls: "I had the best tan in my neighborhood."

Moreover, Negron senses that teachers are open to input from CAS social workers and counselors, and are enthusiastic about the addition of on-site social services.

"I think it's comforting for teachers to be able to teach while we address the social services issues of their students," he said. "I think teachers are comforted by our presence here because of everything we bring to the mix."

MOTT FOUNDATION

40